

It will be recollected that, some months ago, Mrs. Chapman, a noted abolitionist, wrote a letter to Victor Hugo, the celebrated French poet and novelist, asking his opinion in regard to American Slavery, &c. Mr. Hugo answered her letter, and his epistles have been published in this country. In this morning's paper, we publish a letter by John H. B. Latrobe, Esq. of Baltimore, in reply to the Arguments of Victor Hugo. We ask for this letter an attentive perusal, and we are confident that it will have a very general circulation through the country. Mr. Latrobe is one of the ablest lawyers in the country, and enjoys a distinguished reputation as a profound thinker, a sagacious jurist and a powerful advocate. He is President of the Maryland Colonization Society, and although living in a slave State, is in no manner more humane feelings towards slaves than Mr. Latrobe.

Mr. Estlin's argument is sound and unanswerable, and his views are the only correct ones relative to these important questions. His letter, we have no doubt, will accomplish much good, and it affords us a great deal of pleasure to lay it before the public, for the first time.

THOMAS SUTHERN

The best way, perhaps, will be to consider the letter as the expression of a strong sympathy on the part of the writer, in the labours of a lady, engaged in promoting the cause of Anti-Slavery,—or, to use a more accurate definition, Modern Abolition, in the United States. Indeed, Victor Hugo begins by saying, that he has been desired "to lift up his voice;" and so he does.

Let us suppose now, that his expectations were realized. The country would then present the spectacle of two free races, of different colours with equal rights, as citizens, under the law.

But there would be some thing which the law could not give. It could give political, but not social position. It could empower the emancipated slaves to hold property and to vote, which has been already done in some of the States; but it could not remove the prejudice which the white population entertain against their race. It could not change those physical characteristics, which arrest association with them, either as regards their appearance or otherwise. It could not induce fathers to give their daughters to them in marriage, or to receive their daughters to receive them as husbands. Nor would this impetuosity of the law be of present duration only. As I have already said some of the States have done for the negro race, all that legislation could effect, and this in two generations since. But no where do we hear of any general change, or any prospect of such a change, as would better their social condition in any of the particulars we have mentioned.

We may fairly assert, then, that the emancipation of the whole Slave population of the United States, at once, or gradually, would present the spectacle of two free and distinct races whose difference of colour was an inseparable barrier to their amalgamation by intermarriage, now, or within any probable period of the future.

Whether the emancipation of the slaves, which would prevent colour from being the badge of servitude, would tend to promote intermarriage, and the gradual absorption, in many generations, of one race into the other, must of course be a matter of speculation. That those intermarriages are not repugnant to the general feeling of our entire country, is a fact, and as such may be dealt with. The future is a conjecture wholly,—about which one-sided opinion may be entitled to as much consideration as another's.—But we may fairly suppose that the white generations which have seen slavery most fully developed, before the prejudices, originating from that condition, can be obliterated.

This point is dwelt upon because of its importance. It lies at the root of the questions involved. If emancipation, present or gradual, is to produce amalgamation by intermarriage between the white and black races of the United States, as they will then stand related and affected towards each other, we give up the case. A belief to this effect is the only apology for modern Abolition.

But we do not believe, so, and repeat again, that the two rivers, in such event, would remain separate and distinct, while they continued to occupy the same bed. On the truth of this position our argument rests. Of this each one must judge for himself. The reasons of the faith are inferences drawn from existing facts.

Having made the whole colored race free, it is not to be supposed that Victor Hugo's sympathy with what he calls "the august cause of slavery,"* would cease. On the contrary, a natural curiosity would interest him in the subsequent condition of the new-made freemen. It might have been well, perhaps, if Victor Hugo before expressing the strong opinions of his letter of the 6th July, had considered what would be the probable condition of the emancipated Slaves. He does not appear, from any thing that his letter contains, to have done so.

Had Victor Hugo reflected he would have found that all history teaches but one lesson on the point, which is, *that two races which cannot amalgamate by intermarriage, can exist in the same land only in the relation of Master and Slave, or, if both are nominally free, in that of the oppressor and the oppressed.*

The instances are striking, and numerous. The Moor, superior in learning to the Spaniard, but not amalgamating with him, was expelled the land, or remained as an ill-treated inferior. The Saxons and the Normans were in continued strife, until intermarriages amalgamated them as one people. Our own country, in its Indian history presents another instance of the truth of the dogma. In Mexico the Spaniards and the Indians amalgamated, and formed one people; but what a people! in the old United States, it is true that one of the best blood of the land, noble in spirit, steady in purpose, and brilliant in talent, flows down from an Indian maternal ancestry to the present day: but yet, the Indian in our country will soon be a memory only.—There was an experience therefore to which Victor Hugo might have referred in sketching future probabilities, should modern Abolition, whose advocate he is, be triumphant in the end. It is perhaps, a pity that he did not push his enquiries further; an indifference, we think, would have lost the weight of a great name; but humanity might have been none the worse off on that account.

Nor is History in this respect, without the confirmation of every day's experience, in our own country.

In the city of New York where the negro may be a voter, he is not permitted to drive a stage or a cart. I am not aware whether this is by law, or is the effect of a combination among white competitors; but the inference is the same in either case. In Philadelphia he has again and again been made the subject of attack by an infuriated populace. In Cincinnati, to protect him from such attack, it has been necessary to parade cannon in the streets.—Boston and Hartford have both witnessed scenes of violence when the negro was the victim;—and yet in these cities are in free States, where the negro has enjoyed for years nearly at quize, all the rights which law could give to him. What hope is there of different future for the black man in these respects? What prospect there of a present change for the benefit, either of the now free, or of the whole race, should a general emancipation take place?—None under the canopy of heaven! A more barren present, a more hopeless future, the lot of the free colored people of the United States cannot expect. America the white man's home, and his exclusively. God hath so appointed it.

During the year 1850, the total immigration to the U. S. from 47 foreign countries can hardly have been less than four hundred thousand persons, persons of a class that, at once, on our acquaintance with the black man in the avenues of Liberty,—and to us of their drive into the wall. In 1850 there may have been a slave in the Virginia of the Point watched by the colored slaveholders. That slave at the early date was a colored laborer. In the same district around Baltimore, the principal slave State, free colored laborers ten years since, got in the harvest

worked the mine banks, made the fences, and, indeed, supplied, generally, all agricultural wants in this respect. Now all this is changed: the white man stands in the black man's shoes, — or else, is fast getting into them. And where, fifteen years ago, nearly all the signs above shop doors on Fell's Point, showed English names — now two-thirds of them are German; a fact of notoriety and most daily comment.

In Cincinnati, the labour that used to be performed by free blacks is now performed by white men; and, as Mr. Colman well knows, the firemen are now whites, where they used to be free-colored men. Instances of this sort, where the white man has driven the black man to the wall might be multiplied indefinitely.

Now this state of things exists at a time when there is a mighty drain upon the Atlantic border for laborers to supply the vast country lying between the crests of the Allegheny and the shores of the Pacific. But this drain cannot last forever; and when it ceases, should the two races, which we have shown must ever remain distinct, still occupy the land, there will be a strife for bread, fearful and murderous; a strife to be described in all its horrors by some future Victor Hugo, should talent be perpetuated for the occasion; a strife in which the fate of the weaker, and colored race, may be terribly imagined; a strife, which would have been furnished with a prototype in Ireland, had its population, in 1847, been divided into white and black, in the same proportions as they exist in this country and entertaining the same feelings towards each other, that prevail here, and two men of different colour had been required to divide between them, the loaf not sufficient to satisfy the craving appetite of one starving wretch.

Enough has been said, it is thought, in regard to the probable condition of things in this country should Mrs. Chapman's *Lebanon* and Victor Hugo's *unpublished voice* succeed in accomplishing the purposes of modern Abolition. Noah, if this is truth, in present fact, and plain and palpable inferences therefrom, can the result be obviated, unless by the amalgamation of the white and colored races of our country by intermarriages between them; a thing which many of those shouting louder even than Victor Hugo would recoil from in disgust. Whether this disgust is a prejudice, or an instinct it is not necessary to enquire; we speak of it as a fact.

The probable condition of the two races supposing both free has been inferred from the actual present condition of the two, when only a part of one of them is free. The slave is protected and provided for by his master; the free black is left to shift for himself; and it is upon him that the agencies we have been describing operate. Still, emancipations, by families and of individuals, are constantly taking place; and this and the natural increase of the free blacks would seem, wholly irrespective of modern Abolition, to be bringing us nearer to the time, when there must be a strife between the whites and the free blacks, if they persist in remaining together.

Apart then, from Victor Hugo's letter, which is answered by Showing from existing facts and fair inferences the condition to which the scheme in which his voice has been "lifted up," would reduce the objects of his bounty, it becomes important to enquire how the evils of a state of things, to be anticipated, at any rate, can best be obviated.

The nature of the evil suggests the character of the remedy. If the two races cannot live together except in the relations we have referred to, the most separate. The colonization of the free negroes, and of such slaves as may be emancipated, from time to time, is, in other words, the only remedy.

When, from any cause, a family or nation, ceases to live in harmony, separation, or colonization, if you please is, and ever has been, the remedy.—All colonizations too have been alike with some differences in the impulsive; but, leaving out of view the several colonies of different countries and some pauper emigrants from Europe to the United States,—the abolitionists have left their old homes to better their condition, *at their own cost*, and of this character must be the colonization of the free colored people of the United States. They must do for their own good; and they must ultimately pay their own expenses. As a class they are better able to do so than the Irish and German emigrants who come to ship-boards to America. They have, when destitute, generally more friends to help them than the Irish. The country to which the most emigrate has been designated by the societies who have established colonies there, but by our common Maker, *is the only country in the world which is capable of receiving*—and I never and doubt will protect the black emigrant in Africa, with a wall of flame, from being abused by his old oppressors, and by the golden ends, which are from the sandy deserts of the Cayah, well as by the Sacramento and the San Joaquin.

to do, speaking now of colonization understood in this country,—little was required to do.

ever be called upon to do,—has been to prove the practicability of establishing colonies of free colored persons from the United States, capable of self-government, self-defence, and self-support, upon the coast of Africa. That this has been done, the Republic of Liberia is the proof. Having done this, the Colonization Societies are *functus officio*, looking to their great object. Circumstances must do the rest. Circumstances advancing beyond all power of control, with the crushing force of an avalanche; but, unlike an avalanche, slowly and with due warning, so that they who perish before them, will be the authors of their own destruction. What these circumstances are, we have already indicated, in speaking of the condition of the two races in this country, and the hopelessness of any change until their separation shall take place. The finger of the Almighty is apparent in the whole work: a nation is not to be transplanted like an apple tree. The black man's heart, enlarged in a sphere of real freedom, or dwarfed in the atmosphere which he breathes, when his freedom is but a name,—is still an human heart,—endowed with the purest susceptibilities—capable of the highest improvement, as Liberia has already proved, clinging to the *nature soluta* with vast tenacity—more so even than the white man feels; and the black man cannot, therefore, be expected to remove from familiar faces and familiar places, without a clinging hold, yielding only to the sternest circumstances. Colonization, therefore, must be a slow work. But there is ample time for it. The West, even unto the Pacific, is to be filled up—pace for years, for white and black, will be left for them to move in, without more than posting; and the desire to emigrate, thus slowly formed, will keep pace with the increasing native and imported population of our country, with the growing commerce that is to furnish the means of a voluntary and self-paying colonization, with the capacity of the colonies to receive immigrants, and with a gradually enlarging intelligence among the free colored population, making them more and more fit to be the earliest citizens of the new Republics. Had colonization gone forward faster than it has done, it would have smothered itself at Monrovia and Cape Palmas; and no more would have, at this time, been heard of it. But against the wishes of its friends—against their best endeavours, it has been kept back, until each succeeding ship-load of emigrants having had time to establish themselves, the result has been the present well-ordered governments on the coast of Africa.

I have here dwelt upon, as a distinct proposition, the effect of circumstances as they exist in this country, in producing a conviction on the minds of the free colored people that this is not to be their abiding place. I will venture to mention to you one or two cases within my own recent personal experience as illustrative of my opinion.

Within two months, a colored clergyman of the Methodist Church, called on me, as the President of the Maryland State Colonization Society for some information connected with the Society's affairs; he had at one time, years since, seceded from the religious society to which he belonged and was enabled through his activity and popularity to build up a church for himself. The cause of his secession was the stand which the Methodist Episcopal Church had taken in favor of the scheme of Colonization, to which the person alluded to was bitterly opposed. He was a well-informed man on general subjects, and had been practising physic, with success, among his own colour, for several years. After his business was concluded, I asked him to tell me frankly why he was going to Africa, not only with his own family, but with some

fifty or sixty of his friends, who proposed to accompany him. His answer was nearly as I can recollect, in words, was this—"My practice as a physician has been gradually increasing from year to year, and is now larger than ever it was. My patients are generally the same individuals—and popularity, as far as I can judge, is unimpaired, but my income has been growing less and less, and is now less than ever it was. My wife and myself have been struck with this, of course, and for a year or two have been discussing the cause of it, and have come to the conclusion,—indeed sir, we had nothing to come to,—that the ability to pay me diminished as the condition of my patients grew worse and worse in pecuniary matters. They got less money than they used to get, while we were getting into places which they used to fill. Others of my friends with whom I consulted had come to the same conclusion; we saw no chance of getting better; and therefore we are going to Africa, while there is Society ready and willing to pay our expenses, and before the times grow darker than they are."

Another colored man, a drayman more than ordinary intelligent, does well, earning enough money for his support and able to buy something to give as his portion for a son, of the Irish and German race, to emulate his father's example, and to join the white's which had refused them to employ colored men by preference, no longer extolled—that our white matters worse, and the feeling this, he determined to em-

I run the risk of wearying you, with these anecdotes, but falling within my own knowledge, they are to me corroborations strong of the view, which are here expressed in regard to the injurious effect of the circumstances I have referred to.

But it may be said, that, admitting all this, the Colonization Society is wholly incompetent to the end it aims at. Now, a good deal depends upon what that aim is; if it is to remove the entire free colored population of the United States, with means to be obtained from legislatures and individuals—then Colonization is a drop in the bucket, and not worth pre-occupying as a political undertaking. It will do them as a missionary scheme, will help in the suppression of the slave trade; but will do nothing more. This is most freely granted. But if its aim is, or has been, to establish such a colony as the Republic of Liberia, which, growing in prosperity year after year, shall gradually become as attractive to the free colored man, as the United States is to the foreign immigrant, emigration to which will be promoted, not merely by its attractiveness but by circumstances in this country rapidly accumulating and forcing the conviction on the free black man's mind, that the day will come when there will be no alternative but extirpation or removal—then I say, as I do say in the firm belief impressed on my mind by a close attention to the subject for near thirty years, that Colonization has already fulfilled its great mission—that it exists now only to facilitate what nothing can prevent—that the day and the hour are at hand when the exodus must take place; not perhaps in this year or the next, in this generation or in that of our children—but, soon, very soon, looking to the periods which measure the histories of the world and the nations thereof.

The annual increase of the whole colored population of the United States slave and free, was ten years ago some fifty-five thousand. The result of the last census I have not yet learned.— The white immigration of the present year will be perhaps half a million.— Did the same commerce exist between this country and Africa, that crowded this immigration upon our shores from Europe, an emigration to Africa equal in numbers, would, of course, relieve us from the whole, colored population in a very few years, if all were permitted to leave America. There is not such a commerce however; but there is a commerce with Africa which is increasing with a rapidity surpassing anything known in commercial history, if we except the trade of San Francisco; and the rate of its increase is yearly becoming greater.

It already far surpasses the commerce of the colonies of this country where they were as old as the colonies on the coast of Africa, far surpasses it. It must grow—it cannot be stopped. The mighty continent—a quarter of the habitable globe, filled with a teeming population, is still to be supplied with all that civilization can produce; a population which instead of perishing as the new comers press upon them are of the same blood and lineage and must unite with them as one people. England has long appreciated Africa's capacity to absorb manufactures as her sands absorb the dews. Hence her attempts to penetrate into the interior by her expeditions which she has sent up the Niger; hence the costly establishments maintained by her on the coast. But the interior of Africa can be reached for commercial purposes but in one way, and that is through colonies of free colored people from the United States established along the coast. Colonies of *white* men will not do, because they become chattel houses. Colonies of recaptured Africa will not do, as has been shown at Sierra Leone, because they want the civilization necessary to make them the agents of civilization in its relations with commerce; but the free colored man of America can live, for he is in the clime of his ancestors, and, being fully civilized, and christian too, he is the agent, and the only agent, that the world contains adapted to the purpose. He has already proved his efficiency

In no aspect of Colonization has more interesting relations than in the commercial aspect. The strife among the great of the old nation England at their head, England first, and especially, is the opening of new Markets, and in this all mankind is interested. The manufacturers and the consumers directly. Indirectly, all the who are relieved, as we in America must be, when the over production of the English manufactures finds its way into new countries, and no longer creates a glut to the ruin of the parties before it.

Just at the time when this overpopulation in relation to existing resources is taking place, and all the troubles consequent upon a stagnant trade afflict the poorest suffering countries of the world, Colonization comes into existence; being able, alone, alone, alone, to throw open a world so filled with products of civilization and enterprise to build up the commerce and industry for Africa, in the way of coming from this country, what can be done for Ireland, and Ireland all the time, in transporting their people and stores. The wants of Africa, demands for civilization and its products, the

which shall make the Atlantic a great highway between the two countries crowded with those whom circumstances will not suffer to remain here, and whose exodus will in this manner be facilitated.

Nor will this be the only effect of a state of things as certain to happen as the coming of to-morrow. Along with commerce will religion go. That gospel which Victor Hugo, with the confidence of prophecy says we must "renounce unless slavery is renounced." Strange too that he should have overlooked the fact, when he must have known that with slavery in existence in America, for upwards of two hundred years, the gospel has been preserved here in a purity and power through wars and tumults, which, unless universal report is woefully at fault, France herself might envy. Yes, the gospel will be introduced into Africa not the gospel of sects, but the gospel of our Saviour; each christian man being at liberty to worship his Creator in freedom as his conscience may direct him. Victor Hugo may then be willing to admit that if slavery has been driven in Turkey "from the heart of Oinar," where it has left Mahometanists behind it, by the way, it has been permitted to exist "at the hearth of Franklin," by Him whose ways are not as our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts, in order that a nation of missionaries might be formed, through whose agency the prophecy should be realized, which promises that Ethiopia shall lift up her hands unto God.

"There is one paragraph in Vietor Hugo's letter that we adopt most cordially, and we copy it entire:—
 "There is an inflexible logic which develops more or less slowly, which fashions, which reduces according to a mysterious plan, perceptible only to great spirits, the facts, the men, the laws, the morals and the people; a better, under all human things, there are things divine."

Exactly so. But, whether Mr. Chapman or Victor Hugo are influenced by the sub-divinity here referred to may be questionable. One thing is certain—that the Republic of Liberia and the Colony at Cape Palmas have been founded, and enjoy at this time an honorable and prosperous existence,—by emigrants, the mass of whom were ignorant and unlettered, and who unparalleled success in the history of the world can be attributed to nothing but the protection of the builder of the world, and the puller down of earthly kingdoms. The people who have done this are the only agents through whom, as already said, commerce can penetrate Africa,—the only missionaries who, in the providence of God, can live there,—they afford the only efficient means of suppressing the slave trade, which having accomplished its purpose for which divine wisdom permitted it, is to be put down by the children of those, whose fathers brought from Africa, that their children might be fitted to extirpate when its end was answered.

The ways of Providence are mysterious; but we think the divine agency which controls is rather more apparent in the success of the colonies than has been in the success which I attended the antislavery and abolition societies from their birth to the present day; nor do we believe that there is any thing "perceptible only to great spirits," which either Victor Hugo or Mrs. Chapman has seen, to prevent our looking to the success thus far of African Colonization as more likely to be the result of divine intelligence, than the schemes in which these two persons advocate

The practical effort of modern America, thus far, has been to disturb the glorious harmony of a happy people threatening to place brother in array against brother,—while at the same time all the friendly and affectionate relations existing between whites and the free blacks have been prematurely destroyed, the bonds the slave have been tightened and his privileges curtailed, so that the acts these pretended friends have in the results been a curse to both of them. Whether this ought to be so, whether benevolence, because it is ignorant, should be tolerated and respected when its course is mischievous and practically working destructive—whether the master of slaves should praise and thank him who excited them to rise and break their chains over his head, that is to murder him and his children, were the world better and wiser, this should not be so, is what we do not propose to argue. Taking the world as we find it, we rely on facts we know, rather than the speculations of a French poet and novelists and a great poet and a great novelist, even when he raises his voice in the investigation of an American slave who we think might have found others who knew more about the subject in her own country than the gentleman whose “upliftings” we refer to.

This letter, my dear sir, is a long one. But the subject is *the* subject of the day—and is inexhaustible. I have endeavoured to state the following propositions:—

1. That the two races of white and black in the United States, must forever remain separate and distinct, and they continue in the same land—which all the blacks are free, or only a portion of them.
2. That the necessary consequence of this state of things, as illustrated

